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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the impact of marketization on the management of primary schools in an English country town and compares them to nursing homes and fast food restaurants as service providers. The focus is on the teachers' responses in teaching and classroom to government-initiated changes resulting from changing residential patterns in the town and the publication by the local newspaper of confidential, national assessment results. Two elementary schools out of 32 were selected for a 4-term case study. Data were gathered from weekly observation of teachers, informal discussions with staff, informal observations of staff meetings, and semi-structured interviews with seven teachers. Government initiatives had a profound effect on the role of the teachers in the fo m of intensification of their work, increased managerialism through the increased delegation of responsibility, increased external controls, and the loss of classroom autonomy. As the traditional autonomy of the teacher in the classroom was threatened; teachers provided dual accounts. Publicly, they expressed support for the new innovations but when they spoke confidentially they expressed feelings of restriction in their contribution efforts by government controls. Teachers felt that government initiatives created a parents' charter for choice and diversity, but denied this charter to teachers. (Contains 15 references.) (NAV)

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THE MARKET AND SCHOOL: CONFIDENCES ABOUT THE REAL WORK OF TEACHERS

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The Market and School: Confidences about the real work of teachers

This paper reports on one aspect of an investigation[1] that explores the impact of marketisation on the management of primary schools in an English county town. Parallel studies of nursing homes and fast food restaurants provide comparison with similar small partially regulated service providers. We selected these providers because while we wanted an emphasis on the impact of marketisation on education, we felt strongly that comparative studies of providers with differing histories of regulation, differences in ethos, different patterns of staffing but some similarities in size and organisational complexity would provide potentially illuminating material on the particular characteristics of education markets and their consequences.

The city was chosen as it was small enough to be studied as a single discrete market. As in most small cities there was a wide range of primary schools reflecting the pattern of housing across the city, from old Victorian buildings at the centre to newly built green site schools in the recently constructed suburbs. In parts of the town urban renewal and redevelopment were leading to disturbance in residential patterns as established communities were rehoused and dispersed to different parts of the city. In addition to this the local newspaper had obtained and published confidential results of the first key stage one (an assessment of all seven year olds in state primary schools) national assessment results to create their own city league tables. Consequently the teachers of the city schools had had some early experience of responses to publication of school performance data and a preview of the likely impact of government policies.

After a survey of the enrolment patterns of the thirty two city schools, twelve had been selected for visits and interviews with the headteachers. From an analysis of these interviews (see Menter et al 1994), two schools, one Junior (with children aged 8 - 11 years) and the other Primary (with pupils aged 4 - 11 years) were chosen for case study over four terms. It is the examination of the work of class teachers within these two case study schools that provides the basis for this paper.

Observation of the teachers during weekly visits, informal discussions with all staff, observation of staff meetings and semi-structured interviews with a representative sample of seven teachers from the two schools sought to document the experiences of the class teachers in their current position within a context of increased marketisation.

The focus on the teachers began as an investigation of our claim (Nicholls et al, 1994) that this context would lead to enhanced managerialism evidenced by the delegation of responsibility; increased control from group based activity; and the increased measurement of performance against

institutional objectives and performance indicators. We therefore expected to find an intensification (Apple, 1988) of teachers' work, more supervisory responsibilities and a continuation of the introduction of constraints with the inevitable loss of teacher autonomy. In both schools there was evidence that these features were having a serious impact on the working lives of the teachers. It was possible to see the changes as increasingly affecting the teachers working lives by continually encroaching on areas, particularly work within the classroom, which had originally been the teacher's sole responsibility but which was now being removed.

This paper focuses on the teachers' responses to this encroachment on their classroom activity, and in particular the way in which they presented two very different accounts of their views of the changes, one public the other confidential. At first teachers attempted in a public role to present the changes in their work as positively as possible, however, very different accounts of the impact and implementation of the changes were disclosed when the teachers spoke confidentially about their private perceptions of the changes. No forum appeared to exist where the teachers felt able to express these concerns other than in close friendships outside their professional role. The two versions were in such conflict with each other that they appeared to contribute to the stress and demoralisation that the teachers experienced. This equivocation is examined further. The dual accounts are compared to the experiences of the teachers in a situation of 'burnout' in Freedman's (1988) discussion of the complexity of conflicts which can lead teachers to 'lash out in angry denial'. Can the dual accounts be explained as the expression of teachers frustration with the intensification (Apple, 1988) of their role?

Although their experiences were similar to those identified nationally (for example, in the PACE study, Pollard et al, 1994) it was not only an increase in workloads that caused concern but rather that they separated the new responsibilities from what they regarded as 'real teaching'. The changes were not those which they would have chosen and led them to try and defend practices which they felt were under attack.

The main areas identified by the seven teacher as remaining under their control were the teaching styles they used and their relationship with their children. Their response to change had not been to entirely replace old practices with new but to continue the old and the new side by side with the inevitable increased workload. In this respect the practices of the case study teachers reflected the findings of the study of teachers by Campbell and Neill (1994a) where despite teachers making a conscientious effort to make reforms work, relatively little curriculum change had occurred. There appeared to be an attempt by the teachers to isolate areas of their work where they felt they remained in control.

The differences between their public and private views of their

responsibilities were particularly evident in their explanation of the purposes of the changes that were being introduced. Their perceptions of why changes were introduced are presented within the three areas above showing the conflict which existed between the constant support teachers were required to give to the management view of changes and the private understanding, often cynical, of the reality of the motives behind the management decisions. These tensions both in their practices and their perceptions of the management motivation inevitably affected the attitudes of the teachers to their views of teaching as a profession and to their confidence of future prospects. The tensions also reflected the dilemmas identified by Nias (1989) which the teachers in her study faced:

> "...dilemmas which they face stem from views expressed directly or indirectly ... Either way, teachers' inevitable inability to fully satisfy their own consciences and their wider audiences leaves them feeling simultaneously under pressure, guilty and inadequate. " (Nias, 1989, p. 193)

However the teachers in our case study had moved on from this position to expressing anger and frustration at their position albeit privately as no professional forum appeared available for such expression. These responses are discussed in the final part of this paper.

1. Delegation of responsibility

In both schools the seven teachers had been given more responsibility in the form of extra duties. In the main these related to two areas, all had been given one or more areas of the curriculum to manage on behalf of the schools and three had been given an increased role in the overall management of the school by the creation of senior management teams.

The teachers' first description of their new role presented the public or official account of the impact of their new responsibilities. All responded that changes were to be welcomed as they enhanced the teachers professional role and they provided benefits to their career prospects. However as they discussed their new roles and as their confidence grew in the researcher they wanted to provide a different version of events, identifying frustration with under-resourcing, anxiety over loss of LEA support, dismay at budget cuts and resignation at having to step in to cover the failings of more senior staff.

Additionally the curriculum and assessment changes introduced had provided conflicts similar to those identified by Freedman (1988) between what they wanted for the children in their classes and the way they were now expected to work. Here they were given more professional responsibilities and yet were as a result losing much of their autonomy. These conflicts are examined in the context of their role as curriculum coordinators and their

roles as members of senior management teams.

All the teachers in the two schools had been given responsibility for an area of the curriculum. This responsibility in general required that the teacher write and update policy documentation and organise and manage resources. Budgeting of resources had been restricted in one school to the senior managers and in the other to the head teacher assisted by the school secretary, now interestingly referred to as bursar despite still being employed as a secretary grade three.

> "***, the secretary, she is another person you negotiate budgets with. Sometimes probably more than Mr. *** (*head teacher*) really." (Teacher interview A46 School A)

Most teachers in fact had responsibility for more than one subject. The introduction of ten subjects within the national curriculum had meant that broad descriptors such as 'topic' to cover a range of subjects had now become inadequate to ensure the management of the specific requirements for each subject. The sharing out of ten curriculum subjects in schools of less than ten teachers inevitably created difficulties. These were increased by the requirement to monitor cross curricular themes and processes including assessment, equal opportunities, economic awareness, health and sex education which meant that even the teachers of the larger of the two case study schools had to assume responsibility for more than one subject.

The teachers' reward for the extra responsibilities consisted of the allocation of points on the new standard scale for teachers which reflected the earlier systems of the A-E incentive allowances. Four of the teachers described the allocation of points in terms of the old incentive allowances. None of the teachers interviewed had been awarded points for excellence of performance or for recruitment or retention purposes. In fact the points not only appeared to reflect the curriculum responsibilities taken by the teachers but appeared to reflect their length of teaching experience within the school despite being described as given for a particular responsibility. It was therefore possible to find the following range within the allocation of points within the teachers interviewed.

0 points — A young teacher in her second year of teaching with shared responsibility for the school art policy; (Interview B49)

An older teacher with seven years teaching experience but in her first term with the school taking responsibility for equal opportunities and religious education. (Interview B50)

1 point — A young teacher in her fifth year of teaching, a member of a senior management team as a replacement for the position of deputy head; taking responsibility additionally for geography and music; (Interview A46)

A young teacher in her seventh year of teaching with responsibility for assessment; moderation; the school portfolio; history and geography. (Interview B48)

2 points — A teacher in her twentieth year, a member of a senior management team as a replacement for the position of deputy head; additionally taking responsibility for English and health education. There had been no alternative but to award two points as her original scale allowance had been awarded when the system required that such awards were permanent. It was therefore now protected. (Interview A47)

A teacher in her ninth year responsible for a nursery department and a member of a senior management team which included a deputy head. She took responsibility for budgeting; resources; staff appointment and management; students and work placements; liaison with the infant department; liaison with social services; adult education classes within the unit; pre school curriculum requirements. Her points were also protected because of a previous award. (Interview B33)

A teacher in her eleventh year responsible for an infant department and a member of a senior management team which included a deputy head. She took responsibility for timetables, work schedules and absences; management of non teaching staff; dinner time supervision; students; YTS work experience placements; servicing staff meetings; reporting and curriculum requirements; Her points were similarly protected. (Interview B36)

The maximum number of points allocated were restricted by the number set by the school governors. The maximum allowed for extra staffing under the new provisions is five for extra responsibilities with a maximum of three for excellence and a further two for recruitment and retention. The maximum found in either school was two points awarded for curriculum responsibility.

In both schools senior management teams had been created. In one this was to replace the deputy head when he moved to take up a headship. In the other the head teacher had decided on a team in order to compensate for a deputy head who he felt was not able to cope with the duties required of

him. In the school where the deputy had not been replaced this was not with the approval of the staff members who were now being asked to take on the responsibilities of the deputy head for no extra points. They believed that it was not possible for them to receive extra points for the work until after the first term and then the points would be on a temporary basis.

Although this structural change gave the impression of a flattened management hierarchy it did little in either school to reduce the autocracy of the head. More so in school A than school B. In the many interviews with the head in school A managing the school was always spoken of in terms of a personal responsibility with a little support from the governors.

> "Teachers' views may vary because their perspective is from the classroom. They may not appreciate what the head has to do" (Interview with head teacher A17 School A)

The deputy head during the previous year had commented

> "the female members of staff (*all the staff*) are patronised, insulted and shouted at" (Interview with deputy head A34 School A)

The two women in the senior management team which replaced the deputy head in this school responded differently to their new role. The younger who was applying for deputy headships saw it as an opportunity to improve her CV whereas the older teacher who had taken the role of acting deputy before was less satisfied. She was relieving the head of the more trivial aspects of his work such as opening and sorting the post, the real decisions remained with him.

In the second school it was also two women who had joined the senior management team with a male head. Here though there was also a male deputy who they were supporting. Both believed that although they worked very hard the real control lay with the head. The head of the nursery department explained how it was the head whom she approached when there were any problems (Interview B33) and the head of the infant department referred to the support she gave the head

> "he needs all the help he can get" (Interview B36)

It was noticeable in both schools that the senior management teams had enormous workloads with little or no non contact time. The two teachers in school A received no official non contact time at all; they had created a small break during swimming which was supported by the head. In the second school the head of infants supervised lunches every day and had given up her office to be used as a special needs rooms. Her non contact time was achieved when students took her class. This intensification of workload followed a national pattern (see PACE, Pollard et al, 1994) where teachers:

> "reported significant increases in the amount of time they had to spend on work and nearly all saw the extent of such increases as unmanageable and unreasonable." (Campbell and Neill, 1994a, p.71)

The teachers in our study also suffered from the same type of stress identified in these larger surveys. Despite this all the class teachers acting within senior management teams remained committed to delivering exemplary classroom practice and spoke of the needs of the children. Their new duties had not changed the tasks they undertook with their classes but had grossly added to them. Their behaviour was similar to that identified by Campbell and Neill (1994a) where teachers they felt were "victims of their own conscientiousness". Teachers already working very long hours did not try to reduce them:

> "not even in the last year of it, that is 1992-93 when official acknowledgement of the impossibility of what was being asked of them was published" (Campbell and Neill, 1994a, p.20)

2. Increased control from group based activity

The most noticeable change in the reduction of a hierarchical structure of control had come about with the move from a line of responsibility from class teacher through head of department to head, to the introduction of curriculum planning groups. This move also reflected the external position of the school where the changes in the hierarchical nature of the control and accountability had been brought about by the legislated demise of the Local Educational Authority through such policy initiatives as local management of school, grant maintained status, and the introduction of a national curriculum.

The introduction of peer group planning and therefore self regulation was described positively by the teachers in terms of more collaborative working, greater curriculum continuity, greater consistency of experience for pupils and again an enhancement of their professional role through the increased responsibility.

However the negative aspects of their perceptions of the new responsibilities were expressed as, again, an increased workload, a reduction in the professional judgements they were now required to make independently and a belief that unnecessary changes were a result of a government view that they were no longer to be trusted. These points emerged as teachers spoke of their changing patterns of work.

All seven teachers spoke of the threat to their independence. That they lived with the continually anxiety of loss of autonomy was not surprising (Grace, 1987; Lawn and Ozga, 1988). Nias (1989) reported that nearly a

third of the teachers in her early survey of the impact of the 1986 and 1988 Education Acts, expressed experiences of anxieties relating to the threat to teacher autonomy. In her study teachers feared the threat of schools amalgamation, local authority staffing and curricular policies, parental interference and fears of increasing centralisation in the education system (which had been realised by the time of our study.) Deciding on the curriculum had been central to their autonomy in the classroom. These planning and recording procedures reduced the traditional autonomy of the classroom teachers (Nias, 1989; Ozga, 1988) obliging them to work in teams. The head of infants felt concerned that she had lost her title of head of infants, she was now a coordinator.

> "I was appointed as Infant coordinator with a measly allowance. Not head. Coordinator is the correct description." (Interview B36)

As with the delegated duties discussed above these procedures did not replace activities such as individual teacher preparation but added to them. All the teachers interviewed expressed dissatisfaction with the meetings that they were now required to attend and with the administrative activities which were now obligatory such as the recording and reporting of pupil progress through the national curriculum.

> "The job's not what it was when I came into the profession. I think there is so much admin. Really you can spend such a lot of time bogged down with recording things on this form and then putting a similar thing on another form." (Interview A47)

The meetings being attended by the two teachers of school A included

a weekly whole staff meeting
A weekly planning meeting with a fellow year group teacher
a weekly policy review meeting (the subjects were being taken in sequence)
a weekly meeting with the head teacher
a weekly meeting with each other.
(Interviews A47 and A46)

These meetings had replaced a more relaxed system

> "We tended to meet if we felt we needed to and very often we didn't need to, although ... you obviously worked to your planning folder, you did tend to go your own way." (Interview A47)

In the second school a similar series of meetings existed:

A weekly whole school staff meeting.
A weekly department (infant/junior/nursery) meeting

A weekly year group meeting
(Interview B49)

And for members of the senior management team these were supplemented by team meetings and governor meetings.

In both schools three meetings took place at the end of a school day, each week. The meetings had become necessary to cope with the introduction and continuing coordination of the national curriculum and the accompanying assessment, recording and reporting arrangements. In the last year both schools were facing Ofsted inspections which had generated yet more preparation and coordination.

> "There have definitely been changes. The pressure has increased tremendously. It is not the class work. The thing that really struck me, the first two years of teaching you had so much time with the kids you didn't have all these other peripheral - assessment or working out budgets or things like that. Maybe it is because I didn't have so much responsibility then. But I feel in the last five years things have just been building up more and more and more. And the actual teaching in the class is nothing compared to what school life is all about." (Interview A46)

The meetings dealt mostly with content of the curriculum rather than its delivery therefore the teachers of both schools still retained a certain amount of autonomy.

> "I find that in the classroom it is left to me to use whatever teaching strategy that I feel the children need - or the best way that I feel I can get things across to them." (Interview B49)

However the greatest change was the moving of the control of terms of employment to the head and governors from the Local Education Authority. Teachers in both schools felt as a consequence there had been a move towards the employment of less expensive teachers. In School A despite an underspend in one year of over £30 000 four newly qualified teachers had been appointed to replace experienced staff who had left. The post of deputy was replaced by the senior management team (discussed above) from staff within the school. The teachers had no doubt that this was to reduce expenditure.

The teachers recognised the effect that this was beginning to have on the movement of teachers between schools, on future promotion prospects and the possibility of taking child care breaks.

> "It might be quite hard (*a career break for children*) ... I

think if you are older, if you want to go back to work and you are experienced, I don't think you should always be taken on on a temporary contract. ... Its not very good and heads are having to look for cheaper options. So they are having to look for probationers. So it is quite hard if you are the top of the scale " (Interview B48)

The movement of control to the head from the LEA was further illustrated by the decision in school A by the head teacher to apply for grant maintained status. The head's motives are discussed elsewhere (Menter et al 1994). For the teachers they realised the extent of their impotence in this situation. This teacher's account was corroborated by another member of staff and the deputy head.

"Were the staff against GM, do you know?

"I think so, I think on the whole we were. We did feel as well that we were getting a lot of pro GM information and not the anti information. ...

It does concern me and I do wonder what would happen should there be a change of government. ...
I can only see the benefits as cash which I don't think is right. It doesn't seem educationally sound to me, to be doing something just for the money. I may have the whole scheme wrong, but that is how it feels to me. And I did have the feeling that most members of staff felt the same. ...

We were concerned as a staff about having nobody to, if you like, to fall back on, nobody to bail you out. ... As you know, the governors in theory employ you. And if you disagree with your employers, it could be a clash of personalities, who do you go to?" (Interview A47)

This increased control by the head teacher was evident in both schools, and was felt at all levels. There are accounts elsewhere (Campbell and Neill, 1994a, 1994b; Nias, 1989; Pollard et al, 1994; Wallace, 1994) of the pressures of increased legislations, administrative duties, prescribed curriculum and collaborative working from the governors, head teachers and secretaries in the two case study schools as well as from the teachers themselves. Ironically this appeared to be the effect of initiatives from a central government whose rhetoric of choice and diversity suggested the opposite intention (STRB, 1994).

3. Objectives and the use of performance indicators

The introduction of a range of performance indicators for different areas included the national curriculum attainment targets, the assessment regulations, the publication of league tables, the requirements to produce an institutional development plan, the Ofsted pre-inspection information, appraisal, financial targets and the standard admission numbers had all been introduced and were creating need for the excessive amount of planning, coordination and administration that was continually observed.

The teachers' public and positive account of these exchanges was that they were introduced to ensure accountability to the public and in particular to parents as customers or clients of the school. They were also part of an attempt to provide national consistency and a standardisation of educational provision. These were all moves which the teachers felt able to support in principle. However the negative aspects were presented by the teachers as an introduction of overburdening administration and a reduction and waste of teaching time which had led to a lowering as standards because topics were dealt with more superficially than before, 'reducing the quality not the quantity of service provided' (Apple, 1988).

This was also the finding in the study by Campbell and Neill (1994a) where teachers thought that the national curriculum had lowered standards in six of the twelve subjects that they taught. In the PACE national sample the teachers supported the national curriculum but also believed it threatened the fulfilment of their basic commitment to the learning and development of young children (Pollard et al, 1994). Their experiences matched Apple's account of the condition which led to intensification

> "Thus this new generation of techniques- from systematic integration of testing, behavioral goals and curriculum, competency based instruction and prepackaged curricula to management by objectives , and so forth - has not sprung out of nowhere, but has grown out of the failures, partial successes, and resistances that accompanied the earlier approaches to control" (Apple, 1988, p105)

The teachers in the study however did not continue to try and subvert the changes. Their positive account of the opportunity the initiatives provided for greater accountability and standardisation were genuinely supported and spoken of as an enhancement of their role. Is this an example of the 'misrecognition' which Apple refers to or a genuine enhancement that Acker (1992) identifies?

In both schools the objectives which overwhelmingly preoccupied the head teachers were in relation to their budget projections and are discussed elsewhere (see Menter et al 1994). The way these financial targets impacted on the position of the class teachers in the school has already

been referred to above in relation to the restrictions placed on their mobility and the resourcing of the curriculum areas for which they were responsible. There were however other objectives central to the management of the school which also increasingly affected the work of the class teachers.

The head teachers of both schools recognised the requirement to have institutional development plans, only one of them had in fact drawn one up. In this school the plan had been shared with the staff at staff meetings and had formed the basis for an in-service day. In the other school the plan had never been constructed. The deputy head concerned at this had offered to write one but had been prevented from doing so by the head.

> DH feel HT is unable to cope with Ofsted inspection, does not have SDP and seems unlikely to face up to the work that has to be done. (Notes taken during interview A31 with deputy head, April 1994)

The head in interviews claimed that the plan existed. However the failure to produce a plan was confirmed by the two members of the senior management team who replaced the deputy. They were now preparing for the Ofsted inspection and realised one would have to be produced.

> "What is a development plan! I don't know whether one is in the process of being written at the moment." (Interview A46)

> "Well Mr *** (*head teacher*) is drawing up the development plan so we haven't actually seen that one yet." (Interview A47)

In the second school in addition to the school development plan they had introduced a curriculum planning system, published by another LEA, and in one department were also involved with the *Investors in People* scheme to review their staff development plans.

The national curriculum and the national assessment requirements had produced targets and goals for the teachers to meet within their classrooms. The planning and coordination that was required for these initiatives has been discussed above. Both schools had rigorous weekly, fortnightly and termly forecasts. It was interesting that although all the teachers complained of the increased workloads they all welcomed the introduction of a national curriculum. They held the reservations about the curriculum which had been expressed nationally and had therefore welcomed the Dearing review.

> "I think it is slightly better than it was, because of Dearing. I think people feel a great weight is about to be lifted from them in some way. People still feel very frustrated- I feel very frustrated by the amount of paper work." (Interview B48)

At an individual staff level it was the introduction of appraisal that had created targets for the teachers to work towards. This was a new initiative in each school and had had variable results.

In the first school the two teachers interviewed had both been involved with appraisal, one was as an appraiser. Although they had both been apprehensive, the appraisal interviews had been enjoyed. For the younger teacher who was appraised targets had been set for her development within her school role and to a certain extent for her career development. The interview had led to her attendance on a course in order to develop the curriculum area for which she was responsible and time to develop her mathematics skills. The interview had also identified her lack of early years experience but this had not been followed up.

The older teacher had not been appraised and she felt that she no longer had career plans.

> "I think I have got to the stage now when I haven't actually got any career plans, which sounds a bit awful I know.
>
> And because I feel that the job really is so much different to what it used to be, I do get worn out by it at times. You know I really welcome the holidays, and I am having to work at weekends more and more." (Interview A47)

This teacher confided that she had once considered being a deputy or head but had abandoned such plans. At 47 she was now 'burnt out' and intended to stay in her present position until she could retire at 55. She appeared to reflect the anxieties of the teachers in the study by Nias (1989) where it was the fear of stagnation rather than the lack of reward that created concern:

> " For these teachers diminished career prospects appeared to relate much more closely to an expressed dread of professional stagnation than they did to material incentive." (Nias 1989, p 125)

The lack of recognition for experienced classroom teachers has been identified as an inherent weakness of the new pay structure even by the School Teachers Review Body who suggest it is a major factor in explaining withdrawal from teaching (STRB, 1994). In the other school the situation was similar, the younger teacher had been appraised and as a result had been given more responsibility, in this case, for assessment in the school. The two older teacher had acted as appraisers but had not been appraised themselves. Neither felt that they were likely to develop their careers further.

4. Teacher morale

For the class teachers within the two case study schools the changes in school management had led to increased responsibilities particularly for curriculum areas but this had not been accompanied by a reduction in the autocracy of the head teachers. Structurally there had been a flattening of the traditional hierarchy of management posts with the creation of senior management teams in both schools, and with the removal of the post of deputy head in one and the posts of head of department in the other.

The class teachers however felt that they were in a weaker position as they had lost the employment protection of the Local Education Authority, and in one school this was threatened further by the anticipated move towards grant maintained status. Their position was also weakened by the threat of budget cuts which made their experience unaffordable and of no real worth when compared to the savings achieved by the appointment of newly qualified teachers.

Appraisal had made no real impact on the teachers and had not even begun to address the stagnation of career development felt by female senior staff who despite displaying senior management skills and each having more than a decade remaining in the profession felt that there were no prospects of moving on to other positions.

These changes had created for the class teachers a situation where they questioned their wisdom in choosing teaching. Three of them would no longer recommend teaching as a profession to their daughters. The two younger teachers felt they had not chosen wisely.

> "I wasn't prepared for the amount of work and the amount of time, and the amount of energy and the feeling of being drained, and trying to be cheerful with 25 children demanding your attention" (Interview B49)

> "I shall probably go out of teaching ... There are other areas that I am interested in as well. Sometimes I don't think it's healthy to be a teacher at times." (Interview B48)

The older teachers had all decided on compromises which amounted almost to a leading a dual existence. I realised in some of the interviews that the version I was being given was a public version of the events and conditions of their experiences as class teachers. Once the tape was switched off and trust had been established I was able to hear a different version of the events which explained many of the remarks which were recorded but only hinted at different situations.

The most striking was the cynical interpretation the four women who were members of senior management teams gave to their new position. The all saw the new position as performing duties which they were not adequately

rewarded for. In the first school they both saw their position as a means to saving money with the added benefit for the head that they would relieve him of trivial activities such as sorting the post and at the same time get him off the hook by preparing for the Ofsted inspection. Between them they were writing or updating every policy statement in the school.

In the second school the two women were covering for an incompetent deputy head (a man) and although they felt their management responsibilities contributed enormously to the running of the school they felt this was not acknowledged by the head or governors, who took for granted their extra workload.

In the first school the two teachers guided me during the interview towards the fact that they had discovered there had been an underspend in the budget of £30 000 or more by visiting the local library. They had however originally taken the same position as the head teachers and spoken of a tight budget which had meant staffing levels were threatened. After the interviews both teachers explained how angry they had been when they learnt of the true financial position. They believed the head had only been concerned to ensure the school would move towards grant maintained status.

In contrast to the way they described their senior management roles the teachers spoke positively but almost apologetically about their teaching. They regretted the way in which the new policies reduced the time that could spend with the children
in their classes. It was the work they did directly with the children that produced the job satisfaction

> "Job satisfaction comes from self achievement and the response of the children, and parents occasionally. No one else ever tells you you are doing well." (Interview B50)

Conclusion

The government initiatives to introduce a market to primary schools had had a profound effect on the role of the teachers within our two case study institutions. There had been intensification of their work and evidence of increased managerialism through the increased delegation of responsibility; increased control, particularly from the supervisory role of colleagues as curriculum coordinators; and the loss of autonomy through the introduction of an unprecedented amount of institutional objectives and targets in the form of the national curriculum, national assessment, the publication of school results, reporting to parents, teacher appraisal, school development plans and inspection.

The teachers responded to the changes with dual accounts which both reflected their sincere attempt to cope with the extra workloads but at the same time give expression to their frustration and anger at their new

position. Their position as women in schools where both heads and deputies were men was seen as significant in their interpretations of their roles. The teachers all remained almost excited with the new innovations which potentially offered so much opportunity for them to contribute professionally to the reshaping of their schools and yet they were severely restricted in their contribution and as Freedman (1988) identified, teachers were rarely asked to demonstrate their intelligence. This was particularly evident with the senior teachers who felt that their experience and professional skills were supporting the senior managers but were not being recognised.

The increased workload was supervisory in nature and created a position where the traditional autonomy of the teacher in the classroom was under threat. Powerless to control these changes through their practice the teachers appeared to be attempting to remain in control by providing the real account of what was happening. The teachers' dual accounts seemed to provide the only outlet in a situation where more collaborative working meant that criticism could not be made easily. It was fellow teachers who appeared to be responsible. Their traditional isolation within the classroom had always contributed to teacher autonomy; ironically now their isolation appeared to contribute frustration to their role. They reassessed their 'defensible space' (Lawn and Ozga, 1988) but remained in a conflict where the government initiatives aimed to create a parents' charter for choice and diversity and yet the teachers were denied choice and diversity for themselves.

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